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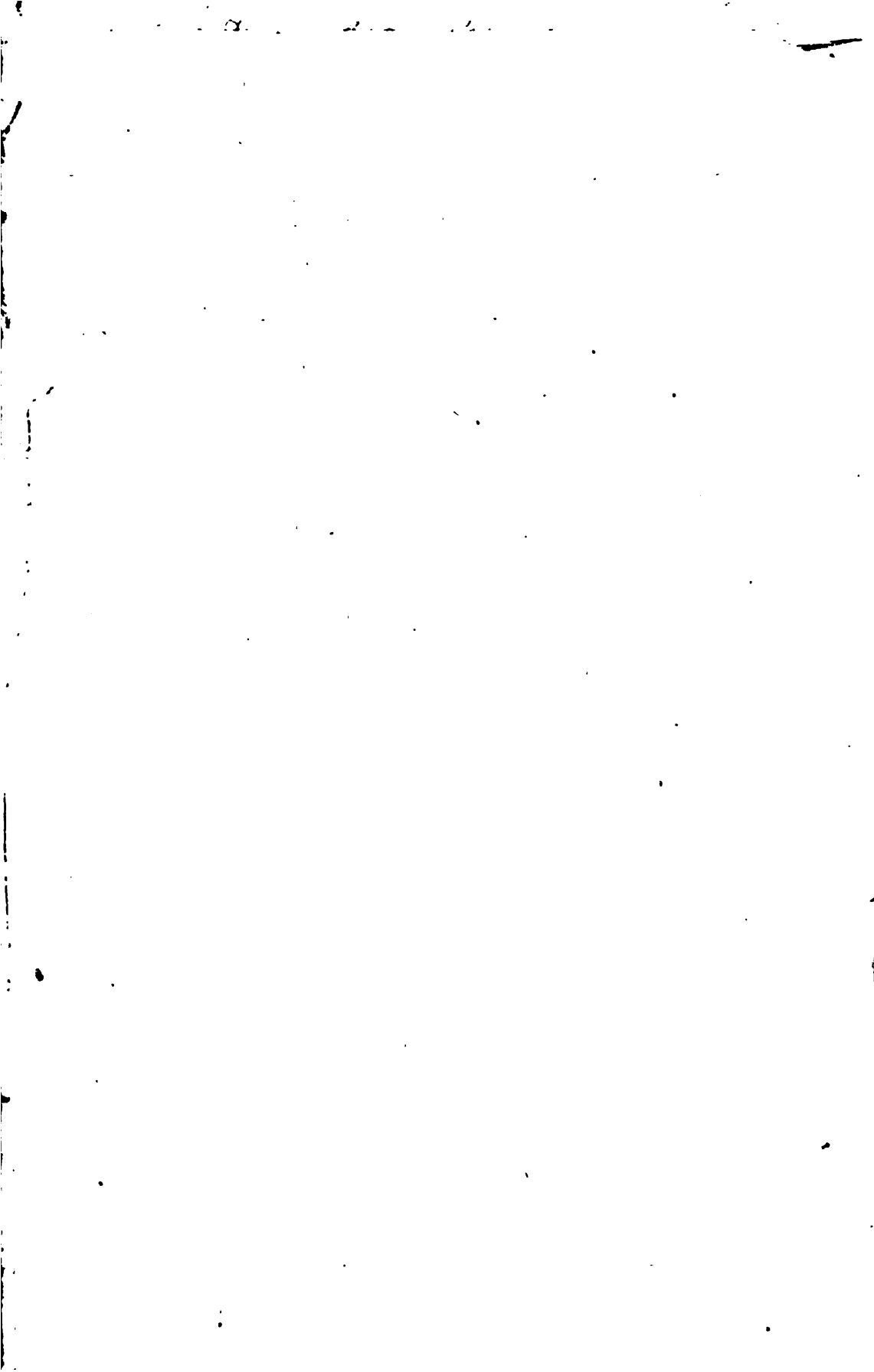
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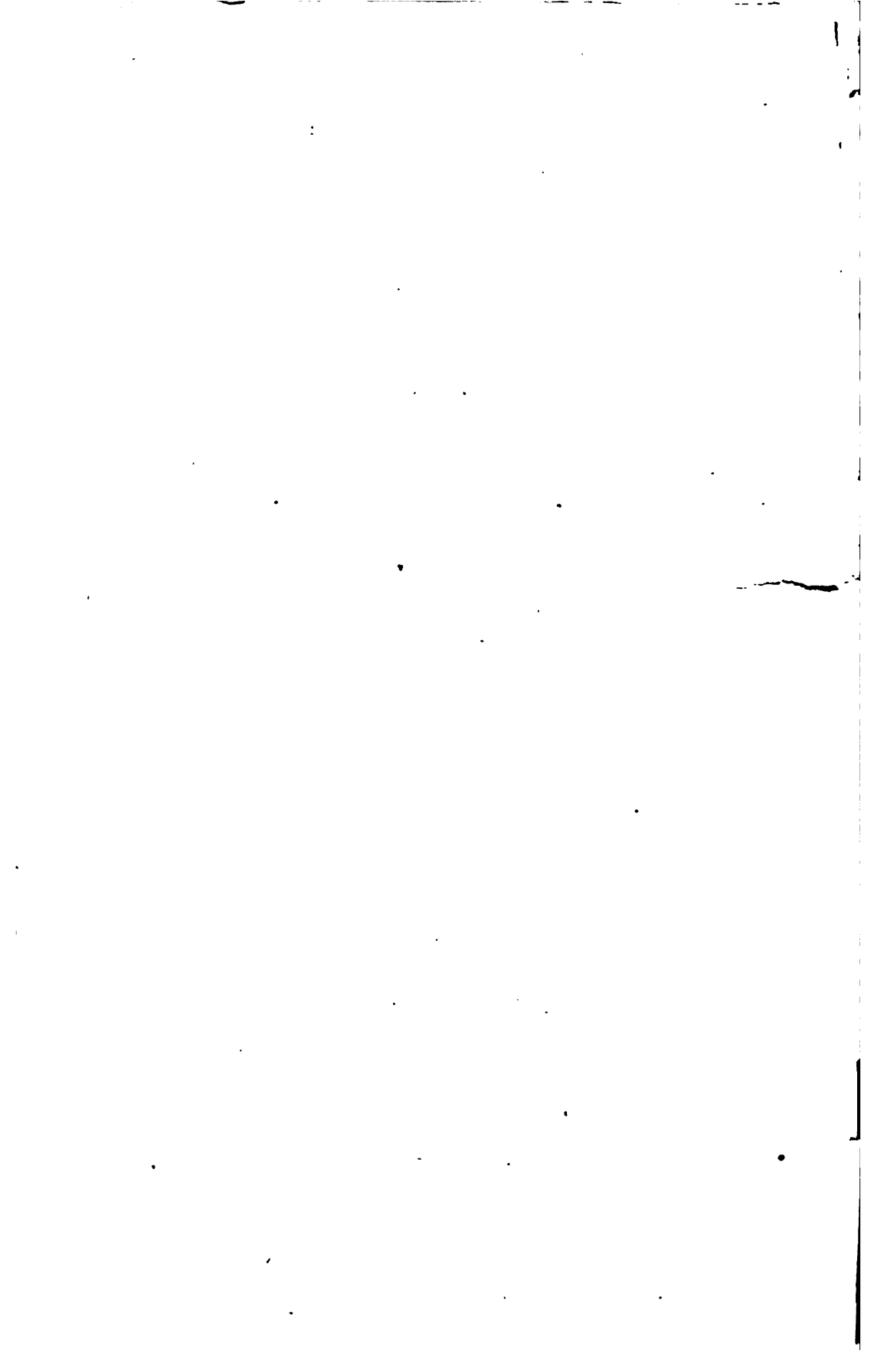


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Rec. July, 1871.







*Dear, John Ward.*

THE STORY  
OF THE  
EMBARKATION OF CROMWELL  
AND HIS FRIENDS  
FOR  
NEW ENGLAND.

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[Reprinted from the NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER.]

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BOSTON:  
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## REPORTED

# EMBARKATION OF CROMWELL.

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THE story of the embarkation of Cromwell, Hampden, Haslerig and others for New England, and their prevention, by an order of Council, from proceeding on their voyage, has obtained so wide a currency that we have thought it would interest the readers of the Register to bring together the different accounts of it, that we have met with, in the exact language of their authors, beginning with the simple statement of Dr. Bates, that Cromwell at one time made preparations for emigration to New England, and proceeding to the fully developed story as it appears in the pages of the Rev. Mr. Neal. Those who find the story in any other book or document are requested to communicate the fact to the Register.

The earliest writer that we have seen brought forward as an authority in favor of the story is Dr. George Bates, who was physician to Charles I. when at Oxford, to Oliver Cromwell while Protector, and to Charles II. after the Restoration. The second part of his *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*, which is referred to in its support, was first published in Latin in 1660.\* We have not been able to find the Latin edition, but an English translation appeared in 1685, of which we have a copy. Dr. Bates speaks of Cromwell's squandering his own and his wife's estate, then "playing the penitent," and hiring a brew-house and plying "the Brewing trade and Husbandry."

\* A.C. Libr. has a Latin ed. of 1670.

"After that," says Bates, "by means of Sir Robert Steward some Royalists and Clergy-men, he was reconciled to his Uncle, who could not before endure him, so that he made him his Heir. But shortly after, having again run out all, he resolved to go to *New England*, and prepares all things for that end. In the mean time, by the help of *Sectarians*, he was chosen a Member of Parliament,"\* &c. &c.

The next writer, in order of time, that we have seen referred to is William Lilly, the astrologer. His History of his Life and Times was written in 1667, but was not published till 1715. He states that Cromwell "in his youth was wholly given to debauchery, quarrelling, drinking, &c., *quid non*; having by these means wasted his patrimony, he was enforced to bethink himself of leaving England, and go to New England; he had hired a passage in a ship, but ere she launched out for her voyage, a kinsman dieth, leaving him a considerable fortune; upon which he returns, pays his debts, became affected to religion; is elected in 1640 a member of Parliament,"† &c. &c.

The next writer brought forward in support of the story is the famous antiquary, Sir William Dugdale. His Short View of the Late Troubles in England was published at Oxford in 1681. In it he speaks of Cromwell as follows:—

"Having attempted his Uncle *Steward* for a supply of his wants, and finding that by a smooth way of application to him, he could not prevail, he endeavoured by colour of Law to lay hold of his Estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it. But therein failing, for lack of better maintenance, his aim was for *NEW ENGLAND*, purposing there to fix, as is very well known. Observing therefore, that most of those unquiet Spirits, who were refractory to the *Church-Discipline* by Law Establish't here, were the principal persons which had stored that new Plantation; and that none but such Schismatics were welcome guests thither; for his better furtherance from those of that gang, and the fairer acceptance on his arrival there, through the recommendation of those Godly Brethren; he forthwith quitted his old Companions, and betook himself to the acquaintance of the pretended Holy Tribe; most formally canting in the demure Language and affected tone, and frequenting the Sermons of the fiercest Boute-fens."‡

The three writers quoted were enemies of Cromwell, and not very generous ones. The next writer, Mather, may be ranked among his friends. It will be noticed that Bates, Lilly and Dugdale do not mention any of the Puritan leaders as intending to accompany Cromwell.

Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, the first edition of which was published in 1702, thus writes:—

"It was for a matter of Twelve Years together, that Persons of all Ranks, well affected unto *Church-reformation* kept *Dropping* and sometimes *Flocking* into *New England*, tho' some that were coming into *New England* were not suffered so to do. The Persecutors of those *Puritans*, as they were called, who were now *Retiring* into that *Cold*

\* Elench. Mot. Nup. in Anglia, or The Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles in England, Part ii. p. 238.

† William Lilly's History of his Life and Times (London, 1822), pp. 175-6.

‡ Dugdale's Troubles in England, pp. 459-60.

Country from the Heat of their Persecution, did all that was possible to hinder as many as was possible from enjoying of that Retirement. There were many *Countermands* given to the Passage of People that were now steering of this *Western Course*; and there was a sort of Uproar made among no small part of the nation, that this People should not be *let go*. Among those bound for *New England*, that were so stopt, there were especially Three Famous Persons, whom I suppose their Adversaries would not have so studiously detained at Home, if they had *foreseen* Events; those were *Oliver Cromwel*, and Mr. *Hambden*, and Sir *Arthur Haselrig*; Nevertheless, this is not the only instance of *Persecuting Church-mens* not having the *Spirit of Prophecy*.\*

The next writer whom we have found relating the story is John Oldmixon, who in his *British Empire in America*, published in 1708, adds new names and new particulars.

“The Troubles of the Dissenters continuing at home, Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, *John Hampden*, Esq., *Oliver Cromwell*, Esq., Names too well known in the Histories of *England*, and several other Gentlemen, were preparing to remove to *New-England*; at which both the Church and State were alarmed; and on the 30th of *April* [“1637” in margin] a Proclamation was issu’d forth, to restrain the disorderly transporting his Majesty’s Subjects to the Plantations, without a Licence from his Majesty’s Commissioners; And an Order was made in Council, That the Lord Treasurer of *England* should take speedy and effectual Course to stay eight Ships in the River of *Thames*, bound for *New-England*, and commanded that all the Passengers and Provisions should be landed. All Unconformable Ministers were also to be stopp’d; which proceeding, says a Doctor of our Church, increas’d the Murmurs and Complaints of the People thus restrain’d and rais’d the Cries of a double Persecution; to be vex’d at home and not suffer’d to seek Peace or a Refuge abroad.”†

In 1741, the year before his death, Oldmixon published a “Second Edition, Corrected and Amended.” The account of this event is altered and enlarged; but it will not be necessary to quote more than the beginning of it. Referring to the grant to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke and their associates, he writes:—

“The Honourable Persons just now mention’d having, by their procuring the Patent for Lands, discover’d their Inclinations to quit *Old-England* and remove to *New*, the Court began to conceive Umbrage, and take the Alarm at such a Desertion; especially upon a Report that Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, Esq., were actually preparing to embark for *America*, and no doubt the Lords and Gentlemen nam’d in the Patent were come to the same Resolution, till the Tyranny that drove them to it, compelled them to give it over. To this End out comes a Proclamation, as ridiculously worded as ever was State Paper, To restrain the disorderly Transporting,”‡ &c.

The reader will notice that Oldmixon does not say that Sir *Matthew Boynton* and others had embarked for *America*, nor that they intended

\* Magnalia, bk. i. chap. v. sect. 7; page 23 of the first edition.

† *British Empire in America*, 1st ed. vol. i. pp. 42-3.

‡ *Ibid.* 2d ed. vol. i. p. 68.

to come in the eight ships that were stayed by order of the Council. In the second edition he omits the name of Hampden.

Before Oldmixon's second edition appeared, Rev. Daniel Neal had issued his *History of New England* (2 vols., 1720), and his *History of the Puritans* (4 vols., 1732, 1733, 1736, 1738), in both of which works the story is found. In the *History of New England* it appears, under the year 1637, as follows:—

“The Ecclesiastical Authority being screwed up to such a Height, and the *Point* of it directed chiefly against the *Puritans*, 'tis no Wonder that vast Numbers, both Ministers and People, transported themselves to *New England*, 'till the Government at length took Umbrage at it, and Published a *Proclamation* bearing Date April the 30th,\* ‘To restrain the disorderly Transporting of his Majesty’s Subjects to the Plantations in America without a Licence from his Majesty’s Commissioners, because of the many idle and refractory Humours, whose only or principal End was to live without the Reach of Authority.’ And the next day† an Order was made in Council, ‘That the Lord Treasurer of England should take speedy and effectual Course for the stay of 8 ships now in the River of *Thames* prepared to go for *New England*, and should likewise give Order for the putting on Land all the Passengers and Provisions therein intended for the Voyage.’ In these Ships were‡ Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, who with several other Gentlemen were removing to *New England*; and because several of the Clergy under Ecclesiastical Censures were willing to accept of the same Protection and Refuge, therefore another Order of Council was directed to the Lord Admiral, ‘To stop all Ministers unconformable to the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, who frequently transport themselves to the *Summer Islands*, and other his Majesty’s Plantations abroad; and that no Clergyman should be suffered to go over without Approbation of the Lords Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London*.§”

In his *History of the Puritans*, Neal gives a similar account under 1638, as follows: “It deserves a particular notice, that there were eight sail of ships at once this spring in the river of *Thames* bound for *New England*, and filled with puritan families, among whom (if we may believe Dr. *George Bates* and Mr. *Dugdale*, two famous royalists) were *Oliver Cromwell*, afterwards protector of the Commonwealth of England, *John Hampden*, Esq., and Mr. *Arthur Haselrigge*, who, seeing no end of the oppressions of their native country, determined to spend the remainder of their days in America; but the council, being informed of their design, issued out an order dated May 1, 1638, to make stay of those ships, and to put on shore all the provisions intended for the voyage. And to prevent the like for the future, his Majesty prohibited all masters and owners of ships, to set forth any ships for *New England* with passengers, without special licence from the privy council; and gives this remarkable reason for it, ‘Because the people

\* “*Compleat Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 83.”—*Note by Neal*.

† The order was passed March 30, 1638.—Compare *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. viii. p. 138, with *Rushworth's Hist. Collections*, vol. ii. p. 408.

‡ “*Mather*, Book I. p. 23.”—*Note by Neal*. In the second edition of Neal's work, published in 1747, p. 168, the following authorities are added: “*Bates Etench. Mot. Nup.*, Par. ii. p. 219. *Dugdale's View of the Troubles of England*, p. 459.”

§ Neal's *History of New England*, vol. i.; 1st edition, p. 161.

of New England were factious and unworthy of any support from hence, in regard of the great disorders and want of government among them, whereby many that have been well affected to the church of England have been prejudiced in their estates by them.'\*\*

In 1764, Hutchinson published the first volume of his *History of Massachusetts Bay*, in which he alludes to the story, as follows:

"In the year 1635, there was a great addition made to the number of inhabitants; among others Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane, was admitted to the freedom of the colony on the 3d of March; and at the same time Mr. Harlakenden, a gentleman of good family and estate. There were many others, as Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Dummer, of the magistrates; Mr. R. Mather, Mr. Norton, Mr. Shepard and Mr. Peters of the ministers, who came over this and the last year to take up their abode, and many other persons of figure and distinction were expected to come over, some of which are said to have been prevented by express order of the King, as Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Oliver Cromwell, &c. I know this is questioned by some authors, but it appears plainly by a letter from Lord Say and Sele to Mr. Vane, and a letter from Mr. Cotton to the same nobleman, as I take it, though his name is not mentioned, and an answer to certain demands made by him, that his Lordship himself and Lord Brooke and others were not without thoughts of removing to New England; and that several other persons of quality were in treaty about their removal also, but undetermined whether to join the Massachusetts or settle a new colony."†

Hume, in his *History of England*, briefly reports the story, and adds that Hutchinson "puts the fact beyond controversy."‡ But though Hutchinson's familiarity with the history of those times, and his access to documents not now in existence, entitles his opinion to respect, he furnishes no proof of the story; for the fact which he brings forward in its support, that Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brook and other persons of quality were in treaty about their removal to New England,§ does not touch the question, and besides this occurred some years before the date that Neal assigns to the embarkation. There was, however, a previous stay of ships by government in February, 1633-4.||

The story has been repeated with various modifications by Belknap,¶ Chalmers,\*\* Brook,†† Godwin,‡‡ Grahame,§§ Hallam,||| Russell,¶¶ Lord Nugent,\*\*\* Lord Macaulay,††† Thornton,‡‡‡ and

\* *History of the Puritans* (Boston, 1817), vol. II. pp. 342-3.

† *History of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. I. pp. 41-2.

‡ *History of England*, chap. 52.

§ The letter of Cotton is printed by Hutchinson in his first volume, Appendix III., and the Proposals of Lord Say and others with the answers thereto, in the same volume, Appendix II.

|| *New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. VIII. pp. 136-7.

¶ *American Biography*, vol. II. p. 229-30.

\*\* *Political Annals*, pp. 160-1.

†† *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. I. p. 84; *History of Religious Liberty*, vol. I. p. 449.

‡‡ *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. I. p. 11.

§§ *History of the United States* (ed. 1836), vol. I. p. 252.

||| *Constitutional History of England* (New York, 1851), p. 270.

¶¶ *Life of Oliver Cromwell* (Edinburgh, 1829), vol. I. pp. 59-60.

\*\*\* *Memorials of Hampden* (3d ed.), p. 110.

††† *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1831 (Boston ed.), vol. II. p. 526.

‡‡‡ *Lives of Heath, Bowles and Elliot*, pp. 138-58. This work contains an elaborate argument in favor of the story.

others. It has been doubted or denied by Aikin,\* Forster,† Bancroft,‡ Young,§ and others.

The arguments brought forward to disprove the story are, first, the character of the earliest authorities; second, the moral improbability of the story; third, the fact that the vessels were allowed to proceed on their voyages; and fourth, the absence of any mention of the story in the publications of the day.

The first objection is that Bates and Dugdale were "zealous royalists," and therefore not to be believed in their statements about their opponents. To us this seems one of those indifferent subjects where the temptations to falsehood would not be very strong on either side. The story has been repeated as often by the admirers of Hampden, Pym and Cromwell as by their enemies.

The next argument, that persons in their situations would not be likely to emigrate, is mainly adduced in regard to Hampden, Pym and Cromwell. Of the two former, Forster remarks: "The mind cannot bring itself to imagine the spirits of such men as these yielding so easily to the despair of country; and at this moment Hampden was the 'argument of all tongues' for his resistance to ship-money, while to Pym the vision of the fatal meeting to which he had summoned Wentworth, became daily more and more distinct."|| Bancroft thinks the pretended design "unlike Hampden," and that had he "designed to emigrate, he whose maxim in life [*Nulla vestigia retrorsum*] forbade retreat, and whose resolution was as fixed as it was calm, possessed energy enough to have accomplished his purpose."¶

Another objection urged against the story is, that the vessels were afterwards permitted to sail, and therefore the embarkation could not have taken place, for says one writer, "all who embarked for New England on board these vessels must have actually proceeded thither."\*\* Another writer says: "There is no reason for supposing that all who embarked for New England on board the eight ships alluded to did not proceed to New England. No doubt they did."†† This sweeping assertion certainly could not safely be made of the passengers in the vessels, even if there had been no stay by government. But if the order of March 30 was really carried out, and the passengers were put on shore, it would not be strange if some of the more wealthy, who had comfortable homes, returned to them before the order was rescinded. They had subsequent opportunities, it is true, to leave the country.

The objection that no mention is made by writers of the day who would be likely to notice the story, has weight; though it would not be conclusive against positive contemporary evidence if such should be produced; for equally unaccountable omissions could be brought forward. But as no such evidence has yet been produced, we are certainly justified in doubting the story.

\* Court of Charles I., by Lucy Aikin, vol. i. p. 300.

† Lives of Eminent British Statesmen, vol. iii. p. 81, and vol. vi. p. 54; Statesmen of the Commonwealth, pp. 81, and 409-10.

‡ History of the United States, vol. i. pp. 411-12.

§ Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, pp. 314-15.

|| Eminent British Statesmen, vol. iii. p. 81; Statesmen of the Com. p. 161.

¶ History of the United States, vol. i. p. 411-12.

\*\* Court of Charles I., vol. i. p. 300.

†† Eminent British Statesmen, vol. iii. p. 82; Statesmen of the Com. p. 161.

The full story does not make its appearance till nearly a century after its alleged occurrence. The combined evidence of the first three authorities, and the only ones belonging to the seventeenth century produced, amounts only to this, that Cromwell at one time in his life designed to emigrate to New England, and that he made preparations for the voyage and engaged his passage. The next writer, who was born nearly a quarter of a century after the event and resided on this side of the Atlantic, two thousand miles from London, adds the names of Hampden and Haslerig to that of Cromwell, and states that they were prevented by one of the "countermands to the passage of people" to New England, of which there were "many." We are not certain that the word "countermand" here refers to the stay of ships by government, though it is not unlikely that it may. Oldmixon, the next authority, gives other names, while Neal states that they really embarked, and fixes the time and place.

Mr. Forster not only refuses to believe that Cromwell embarked for New England, but also that he ever entertained the idea of emigrating to this country. "I do not pause," he writes, "to tell the reader that the idea of Cromwell himself having ever entertained the notion of leaving England to seek a safer home in America, is incredible, and supported by no worthy evidence. . . . Such was not the cast of his mind or temper. To leave England, where everything heaved with the anticipation of *such* a future—when the name of Hampden filled all mouths, and his quiet attitude of immovable resolution during the great trial of ship money had made grateful all hearts—when the harvest of what had been sown by suffering, approached to be reaped in triumph—nay, when the very corn was ripe and only waiting for the glancing sickle! The bare thought is of ridiculous unlikelihood."\*

Though Mr. Forster asserts it to be impossible that Cromwell "ever" entertained the idea of emigrating, his whole argument is directed against the probability of his having entertained that idea at a particular time; and perhaps that is all he means to contend for. The question whether he harbored such a design at any time is, however, worth examining. "The learned Dr. Bates," as Mr. Foster calls him, † whose relations to Cromwell afforded him excellent opportunities to learn the details of the Protector's life—though it must be admitted that his statements relative to him are a medley of fact and fiction—asserts this positively; and so do Lilly and Dugdale. As "zealous loyalists" and unscrupulous enemies of Cromwell their testimony in a matter prejudicial to Cromwell should be received with caution; but is this such a matter? Men of as much distinction and influence as Cromwell in his early manhood, came to New England, and those of higher rank and prestige entertained the idea. Winthrop tells us that in 1634, "some persons of great quality and estate" ‡ proposed terms on which they would be likely to settle in Massachusetts; and Hutchinson as we have seen mentions Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke as among the persons who thought of coming here.

\* Eminent British Statesmen, vol. vi. p. 54; Statesmen of the Commonwealth, pp. 409-10.

† Eminent British Statesmen, vol. vi. pp. 20 and 183; Statesmen of the Commonwealth, pp. 398 and 453.

‡ Winthrop's Journal, vol. i.; 2d ed. p. 135, 3d ed. p. 161.



The fact that such a rumor was current at an early day—for Dugdale informs us that the fact was "well known" when he wrote, which at least means that it was currently reported—gives probability to the story. Miss Aikin says, under the year 1636, though she does not give the authority on which she makes the statement: "There is good proof that both Cromwell, who had given some proof of his power in the last parliament, and Hazelrig, were publicly mentioned as preparing for their departure."\*

The remark which Clarendon attributes to Cromwell, after the passage of the "Grand Petition and Remonstrance," Monday, Nov. 22, 1641, has generally been considered as an intimation that the latter designed to emigrate to New England had that measure failed. Clarendon says that after the passage of the bill, Cromwell whispered to Lord Falkland, as they went out of the House, "That if the Remonstrance had been rejected, He would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew there were many other Honest Men of the same Resolution."† Carlyle calls this a "vague report, gathered over dining tables long after, to which the reader need not pay more heed than it merits."‡

A story that is often coupled with the preceding is to the effect that the patriot John Hampden was actually in New England in the year 1623. This story arose from a conjecture of Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D., in his *American Biography*, vol. ii. page 229. He found in Winslow's "Good News from New England," published at London in 1624, this passage in the account of Winslow's visit in March, 1623, to Packanokick, where Massasoit was dangerously sick, and a Dutch vessel was stranded:—

"To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Governor again laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Master John Hamden, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for my guide."§

Rev. Dr. Belknap in giving an account of this visit to Massasoit, in his *Life of Gov. Bradford*, appends this foot-note to the name of "Mr. John Hamden:"—

"In Winslow's Journal, Mr. Hamden is said to be 'a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us and desired much to see the country.' I suppose this to be the same person who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of King Charles I. He had previously (1637) embarked for New England with Oliver Cromwell, Sir Arthur Haslerig and others; but they were prevented from coming by the King's 'proclamation against disorderly transporting his Majesty's subjects to the plantations in America.' Hamden was born in 1594, and was 29 years old at the time of his being at Plymouth, in 1623.

"See Neal's *Hist. N. E.* vol. i. p. 151. Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. i. 421. Northouck's *Biographical Dictionary*, HAM."||

\* Court of Charles I., vol. i. p. 303.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1720), vol. i. p. 312.

‡ Carlyle's *Cromwell* (New York, 1845), vol. i. p. 119.

§ *Good News from New England*, reprinted in *Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 313-14.

|| Belknap's *American Biography*, vol. II. pp. 229-30.

According to Forster, Mr. John Towill Rutt, the able editor of Burton's Diary, communicated to the Examiner, a well-known London journal, some years previous to 1837, an article in favor of Dr. Belknap's conjecture, which article Mr. Forster presents to his readers in a footnote to Life of Hampden. The article is filled with historical details that are familiar to the New England reader, the only new argument in favor of the hypothesis being this: "It appears, in the *Parliamentary History*, that from Feb., 1621-2 to Feb., 1623-4, Hampden's senatorial duties must have been entirely suspended. Thus, there would be abundant leisure for the visit to America."\* Baylies† and some other writers assume that it was he who was then at Plymouth.

Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* has examined this question in a very thorough manner, and concludes that the conjecture is "highly improbable."‡ Dr. Savage expresses the same opinion in his *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*.§

Bradford and Morton, in their accounts of the events of this year, including the visit to Massasoit, do not mention the name of Hamden, which they would be likely to do if so distinguished a person as the patriot Hampden had resided among them. Dr. Young remarks: "On publishing his *Good News from New England*, immediately on his arrival in London, in 1624, one object of which was to recommend the new colony, how gladly would Winslow have appealed for the correctness of his statements to this member of parliament who had passed more than a year in their Plantation."|| Mather, whose zeal in collecting the memorabilia of New England was rewarded with remarkable success, does not even hint that Hampden was ever in New England, nor do Prince and Hutchinson. It is unsafe, we know, to give much weight to negative evidence like this; but against a conjecture it is surely sufficiently conclusive.

Notwithstanding the inherent improbability of this conjecture, we presume there will always be some to uphold it, unless the Mr. John Hamden, then at Plymouth, is proved to be another person; and even if this should be done it is doubtful whether there may not be some who will still cling to the delusion.

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\* *Eminent British Statesmen*, vol. iii. pp. 323-4; *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, p. 246.

† *Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth*, vol. i. p. 110.

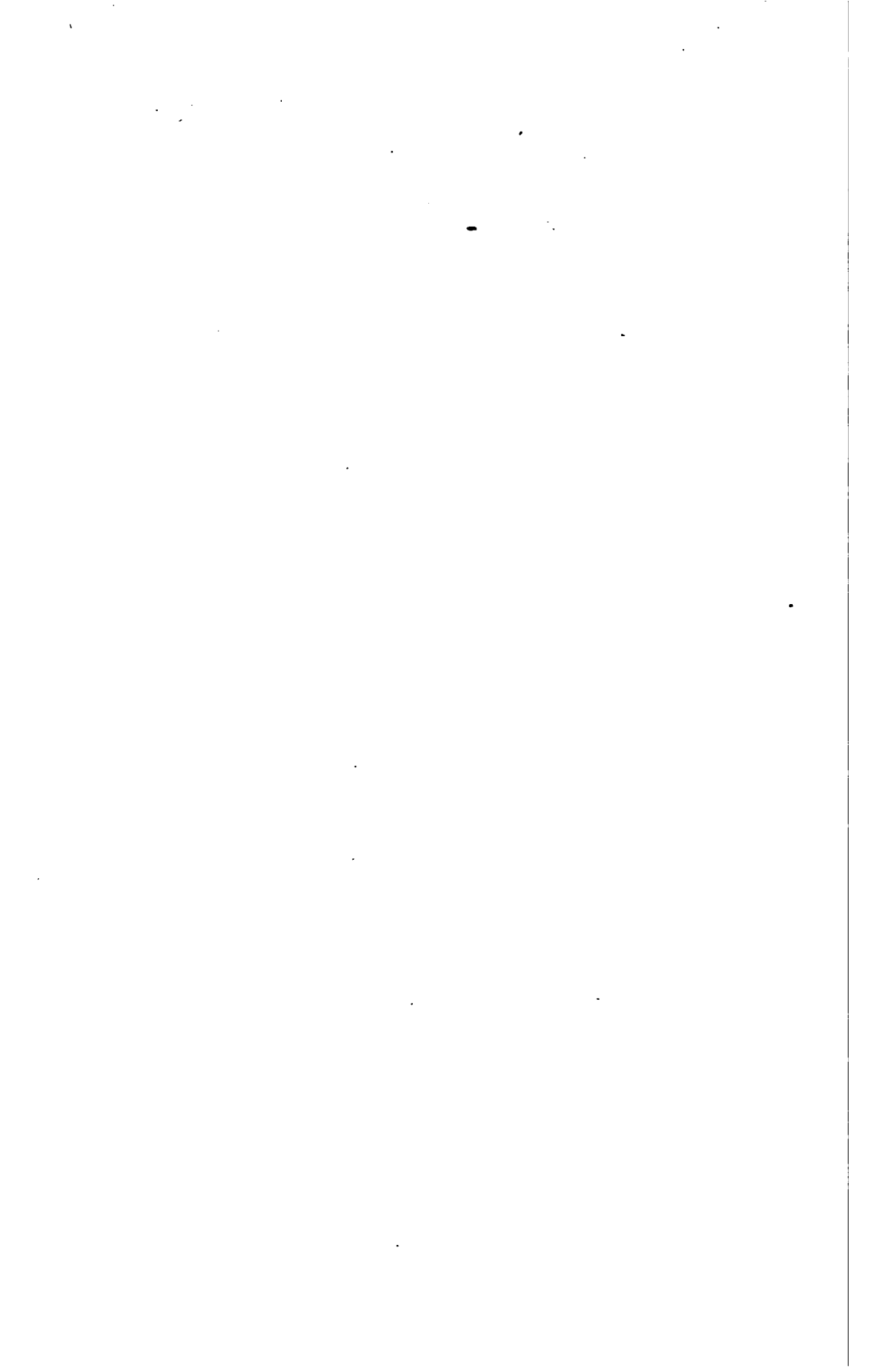
‡ *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 314-16, *note*.

§ *Gen. Dict. of N. E.*, vol. ii. p. 343.

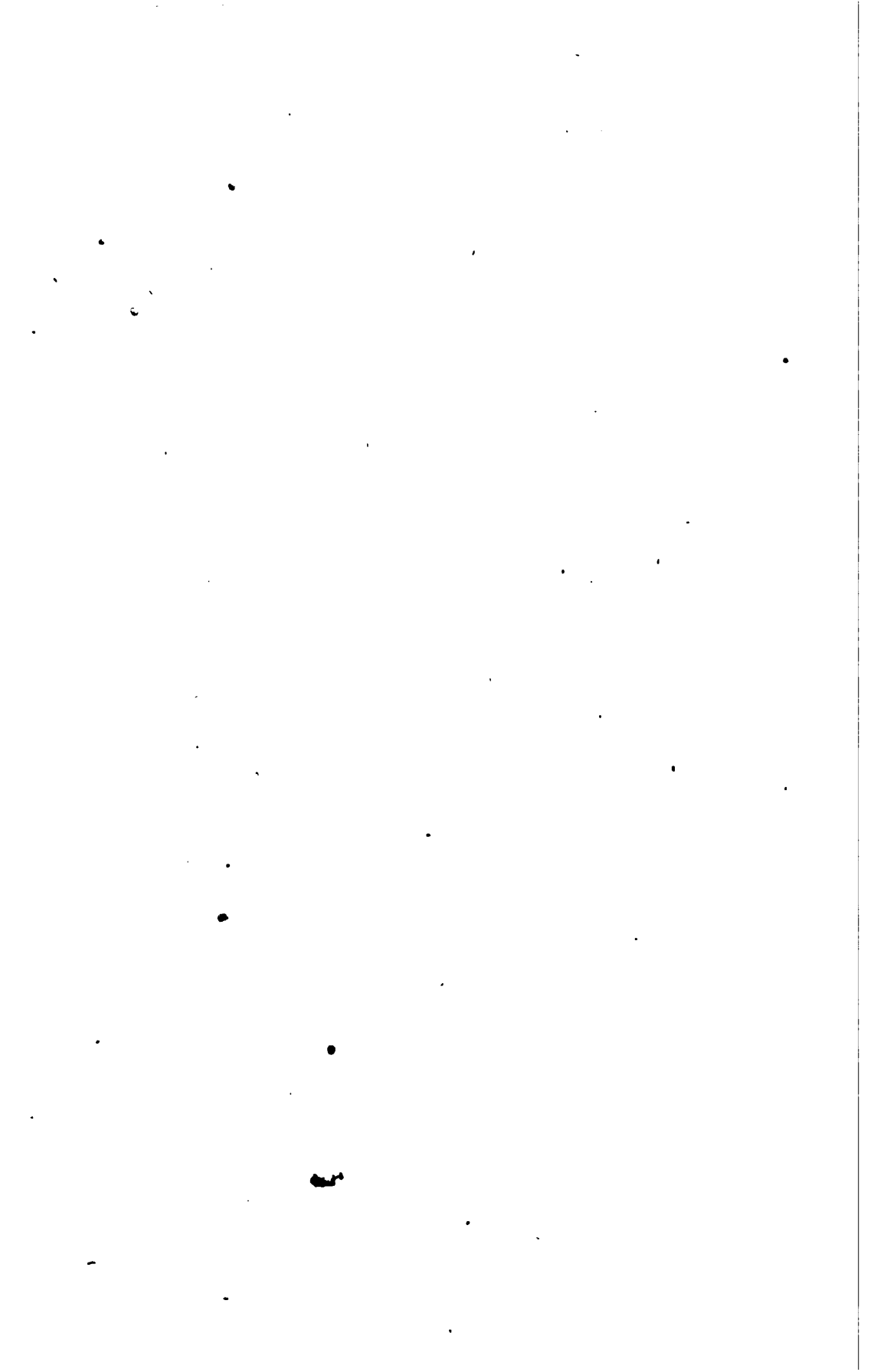
|| *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 314, *note*.











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